

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 CU-04 CIAE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SAM-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04

OMB-01 ACDA-19 EB-11 SCI-06 DRC-01 /186 W

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P 021145Z FEB 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3758

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 87

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

NICOSIA 162

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USINT CAIRO

USNMR SHAPTE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 0665

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - JANUARY 28-1 FEBRUARY

SUMMARY: "DRAFTING" EDGE FORWARD IN A FEW AREAS THIS WEEK,ALTHOUGH
NO TEXTS HAVE YET BEEN AGREED. DESPITE WESTERN AND NEUTRAL EFFORTS
TO FIND A COMPROMISE. SOVIET BLOC CONTINUED TO REFUSE TO DISCUSS
SPECIFIC BASKET III (HUMANITARIAN) ISSUES UNTIL THE CONFERENCE
AGREES DEFINITELY THAT THESE WILL BE PRECEDED BY A PREAMBLE. WHERE
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SOVIETS HOPE TO INSERT THEIR NON-INTERFERENCE CAVEATS. IMPASSE

MAY BE BROKEN NEXT WEEK WITH SIMULTANEOUS DRAFTING ON PREAMBLE AND SUBSTANTIVE TEXTS. IT WAS AGREED THAT NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES CAN ATTEND SPECIAL COMMITTEE/SUB-COMMITTEE MEETINGS TO BE SCHEDULED TO DISCUSS THEIR EARLIER CONTRIBUTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION --TWO "DRAFTING SESSIONS" WERE HELD ON PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY WITHOUT, HOWEVER, REACHING AGREEMENT ON ANY LANGUAGE. ROMANIA INTRODUCED EXTENSIVE NEW PROPOSAL ON THIS PRINCIPLE AND GDR INTRODUCED A SO-CALLED "COMPROMISE"

TEXT. CANADA AND FRG OPPOSED FRENCH FORMULATION THAT PARTICIPATING STATES "RECOGNIZE" EACH OTHER'S SOVEREIGN EQUALITY. (WE HAVE PRIVATELY URGED FRENCH TO DROP THIS ASPECT SINCE IT IS UNNECESSARY CONTRADICTION OF OUR POSITION ON GERMANY.) DESPITE ENERGETIC SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO SPEED UP DRAFTING, AND INDICATIONS OF SOME FLEXIBILITY, WORK ON THIS FIRST PRINCIPLE IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE FOR SEVERAL MORE MEETINGS. IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY, ROMANIANS OUTLINED CHANGES TO THEIR WIDE-RANGING PROPOSAL, WHICH THEY WILL CIRCULATE NEXT WEEK, AND WHICH WILL DELETE SOME OF ITS MORE AMBITIOUS ASPECTS.

2. MILITARY SECURITY -- SOVIETS CRITICIZED FRG PAPER ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES (CBMS) AS TENDING TO UPSET EUROPEAN SECURITY BALANCE, BUT DID NOT ATTACK SPECIFIC PARAMETERS FOR PROPOSED CBMS. SOVIET BLOC SEEMS TO BE CASTING ABOUT FOR POSSIBLE AREAS OF COMPROMIS

ON SUCH PARAMETERS AS TIME OF NOTIFICATION (WEST WANTS 60 DAYS; SOVIETS PREFER 5 DAYS) AND AREA FOR NOTIFICATION (WEST PROPOSES WHOLE OF EUROPE; SOVIETS ADVOCATE FRONTIER ZONES). UK DRAFT OF FINAL RESOLUTION ON CBMS SHOULD BE TABLED FEBRUARY 5.

3. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY, ENVIRONMENT -- DRAFTING HERE IS PROCEEDING BY COMPARISON OF TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY EAST AND

WEST. IN PRACTICE, LONGER AND MORE DETAILED WESTERN DRAFTS ARE FORMING THE ACTUAL BASIS OF DISCUSSION. INITIAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN SLOW, WITH BOTH SIDES FEELING THEIR WAY, AND GENERAL RELUCTANCE TO COMPROMISE IN EARLY STAGES.

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4. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- DESPITE WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE, SOVIETS CONTINUED TO INSIST ON FIRM COMMITMENT TO DRAFT A GENERAL PREAMBLE, AND FULL COMMITTEE AGAIN FAILED TO AGREE TO THIS. SOVIETS CONTINUE TO STRESS PREAMBLE MUST PROVIDE THAT SPECIFIC ACTIONS WILL BE UNDERTAKEN WITHOUT INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND WITH RESPECT FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, LAWS AND CUSTOMS. IN ALL FOUR SUB-COMMITTEES THE SOVIETS HAVE MENAWARE REFUSED TO DRAFT ON MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE,

WHICH WESTERN COUNTRIES AND NEUTRALS ARGUE IS ESSENTIAL FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS. INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE WEEK, SPARKED BY NEUTRALS, SEEMED TO MOVE A SOLUTION NEARER, AND IT WAS GENERALLY HOPED THAT IMPASSE MIGHT BE BROKEN NEXT WEEK ON BASIS OF SIMULTANEOUS DRAFTING OF PREAMBLE AND SUBSTANCE.

5. MEDITERRANEAN CONTRIBUTIONS -- DESPITE SOVIET OPPOSITION, EUROPEAN MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES OBTAINED CONFERENCE AGREEMENT THAT NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES(ALGERIA, MORROCO, TUNISIA, EGYPT, ISRAEL, AND SYRIA) BE INVITED TO ATTEND ONE FURTHER MEETING OF SECURITY COMMITTEE AND OF FIVE SUB-COMMITTEES ON ECONOMICS,

SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY, AND ENVIRONMENT, FOR EXPLANATION OF OR ADDITION TO THEIR EARLIER WRITTEN CONTRIBUTIONS.

6. COMMENT: THE DISPUTE WHICH HAS STALLED THE CONFERENCE FOR TWO WEEKS IS ONE OF THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES OF THE CONFERENCE: TO WHAT EXTENT SPECIFIC FREER MOVEMENT AGREEMENTS WILL BE SUBJECT TO SOVIET-PROPOSED CAVEATS WHICH COULD ROB THEM OF ANY MEANING. THESE PREAMBULAR CAVEATS ARE BASIC TO THE DEFENSIVE SOVIET STRATEGY IN THIS AREA. THEY HAVE NOW MADE IT PLAIN THAT THEY WILL NOT EVEN DISCUSS SPECIFICS UNTIL THE WEST IS COMMITTED IN PRINCIPLE TO HAVING A PREAMBLE. GIVEN SOVIET INSISTENCE, WESTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES WILL PROBABLY EVENTUALLY ACCEPT PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE RESEMBLING THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS' GENERAL REFERENCE TO THE LIST OF PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. THE WEST HAS ALREADY MOVED CONSIDERABLY IN THIS DIRECTION, AND WITH SOME FLEXIBILITY ON BOTH SIDES, A SOLUTION ALLOWING DRAFTING TO PROCEED -- PROBABLY BASED ON SIMULTANEOUS DRAFTING OF PREAMBLE AND SUBSTANCE -- SHOULD BE REACHED SHORTLY.

7. MEANWHILE, THE SOVIETS ARE PUSHING HARD TO GET THE LIST OF
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PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES DOWN ON PAPER. SOVIET INTEREST HERE IS FOCUSED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, WHICH A SENIOR SOVIET DELEGATE HAS PRIVATELY REFERRED TO AS "THE KEY TO EUROPEAN SECURITY." THE SOVIETS WANT THIS PRINCIPLE TO BE

"CRYSTAL CLEAR," FIXING EUROPEAN FRONTIERS, AND ESPECIALLY THE DIVISION OF GERMANY, PERMANENTLY. WESTERN COUNTRIES CONTINUE TO INSIST ON PROVISION FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE, AND DRAFTING OF THE FULL LIST OF PRINCIPLES WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE SLOW.

8. FOR ALL THESE PROBLEMS, COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS ARE AVAILABLE; BUT GIVEN 35 COUNTRIES AND THE CONSENSUS RULE, THE COMPROMISE PROCESS REQUIRES CONSIDERABLE PATIENCE. WITH WIDESPREAD ACCEPTANCE OF A DRAFTING PHASE LASTING UNTIL MAY, WE DO NOT EXPECT MAJOR CONCESSIONS OR PROGRESS UNTIL LATER IN THE SPRING. END COMMENT.

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